

Message Text

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PAGE 01 MADRID 09341 01 OF 02 101950Z

47

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ARA-06 NEA-10 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 /074 W

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P R 101818Z DEC 76

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8270

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT,SP

SUBJECT: PSOE CONGRESS WRAP-UP

REF: (A) MADRID 8990 (NOTAL); (B) MADRID 9118 (NOTAL);
(C) MADRID 9247

SUMMARY: THE PSOE CONGRESS, WHICH ADJOURNED DECEMBER 8, RATIFIED THE INCUMBENT LEADERSHIP'S GENERAL POLICY LINE AND RENEWED ITS MANDATE FOR ANOTHER TWO YEARS. FELIPE GONZALEZ AND ALL OTHER MAJOR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FIGURES WERE REELECTED, WHILE COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP WAS EXPANDED TO 19. THE ORDERLINESS OF THE CONGRESS AND RELATIVE PRAGMATISM OF ITS PROGRAMMATIC STATEMENT HAVE STRENGTHENED
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PAGE 02 MADRID 09341 01 OF 02 101950Z

THE PSOE'S CLAIM TO BE AN IMPORTANT SPOKESMAN FOR THE

RESPONSIBLE, DEMOCRATIC LEFT, ALTHOUGH THE FINAL DAY'S PROCEEDINGS WERE MORE RADICAL THAN HAD BEEN THE CASE EARLIER, AND ENDED WITH A GRATUITIOUS PRO-REPUBLICAN MINIDEMONSTRATION (IN WHICH MOST OF THE LEADERSHIP DID NOT TAKE PART) THAT WILL NOT MAKE THE PSOE'S RELATIONS WITH THE GOVT, AND PARTICULARLY THE KING, ANY EASIER. THE FACT THAT THE CONGRESS TOOK PLACE AS IT DID, WITH GOVERNMENTAL AUTHORIZATION, FURTHER STRENGTHENS THE GOVT'S DEMOCRATIC CREDENTIALS AND CREDIBILITY. END SUMMARY.

1. THE PSOE CONGRESS APPEARS TO HAVE ACCOMPLISHED THE LEADERSHIP'S PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVES: THE PROCEEDINGS WERE DEMOCRATIC AND LARGELY ORDERLY, IN THE PSOE'S TERMS THE PRESCRIPTIONS WERE RELATIVELY MODERATE AND PRAGMATIC, AND THE LEADERSHIP'S LINE WAS RATIFIED; IT CAPTURED THE LION'S SHARE OF THE MEDIA SPOTLIGHT AND CONSEQUENTLY WAS AN EFFECTIVE PLATFORM FOR REACHING A BROAD SEGMENT OF THE SPANISH PUBLIC; AND IT MAY HAVE STRENGTHENED PARTY UNITY, ALTHOUGH CONSIDERATION OF THE PROGRAMMATIC STATEMENT AND THE ELECTION OF OFFICERS WERE NOT WITHOUT TENSIONS. (MORE DEFINITIVE ANALYSIS WILL FOLLOW AS WE SPEAK PRIVATELY TO PARTY LEADERS AND OBJECTIVE OBSERVERS AND DIGEST THE CONGRESS'S FINAL PLATFORM DOCUMENT, WHICH HAS NOT YET BEEN DISSEMINATED.)

2. EXISTING PARTY LINE REAFFIRMED. THE CONGRESS, BY LARGE MAJORITIES AND SOMETIMES UNANIMOUSLY, RATIFIED THE LINE WHICH HAS BEEN PURSUED BY THE INCUMBENT LEADERSHIP AND EASILY DEFEATED ATTEMPTS BY MORE RADICAL ELEMENTS TO PULL THE PARTY MARKEDLY LEFTWARD AND/OR TIE THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE'S HANDS. IN COMMITTEE AND ON THE FLOOR, FOR INSTANCE, THE MAJORITY EASILY DEFEATED ATTEMPTS TO:

- PLACE THE PSOE IN SUPPORT OF THE CONCEPT OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT;
- PUT THE PARTY ON RECORD AS REFUSING TO PARTICIPATE IN ANY GOVT WITH "BOURGEOIS FORCES";
- REQUIRE A PROFESSION OF MARXIST FAITH FROM ANYONE DESIRING TO JOIN THE PARTY (AN OBVIOUS ATTEMPT TO EXCLUDE "SOCIAL DEMOCRATS" FROM THE PSOE);
- RADICALIZE THE ECONOMIC STATEMENT (WHICH WILL BE RELIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 MADRID 09341 01 OF 02 101950Z

PORTED ON WHEN THE FINAL DOCUMENT IS RELEASED); AND

- COMMIT THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO CONSULT THE BASE BEFORE MAKING ANY DECISION ON PARTICIPATION IN ELECTIONS.

3. PLATFORM STATEMENT. THE PSOE REAFFIRMED ITS CHARACTER AS A "WORKING CLASS, MARXIST, DEMOCRATIC PARTY" WHICH SEEKS THE EVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATION OF SPAIN INTO A CLASSLESS SOCIETY BY DEMOCRATIC MEANS. HIGHLIGHTS OF THE PARTY'S

EXREMELY LENGTHY AND STILL UNPUBLISHED FINAL PROGRAMMATIC
STATEMENT INCLUDE:

--POLITICS: ABSTENTION FROM THE REFERENDUM, BUT PARTICIPATION IN THE 1977 ELECTIONS IF THEY ARE "TRULY DEMOCRATIC"; EMPHASIS ON POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE PSOE AND INTENTION TO SHARPEN ITS SEPARATE POLITICAL IDENTITY; SUPPORT FOR A "FEDERAL SPAIN";
--INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: OPPOSITION TO SPANISH ENTRY INTO NATO AND TO THE CONTINUATION OF THE US PRESENCE IN SPAIN; SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLE OF THE LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR "FULL INDEPENDENCE," AND DENUNCIATION OF "IMPERIALISTIC US INTERVENTION IN LATIN AMERICA"; RECOGNITION OF BOTH ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN PEOPLES AND THEIR RIGHT TO A NATIONAL IDENTITY (THIS BALANCED STATEMENT PROMPTED THE PLO DELEGATION TO ABSENT ITSELF FROM THE FINAL DAY'S PROCEEDINGS IN PROTEST); SUPPORT OF THE ACCESSION OF A DEMOCRATIC SPAIN TO THE EC;
--ECONOMICS: (LARGELY A REITERATION OF THE PROGRAM REPORTED IN MADRID 6529); CREATION OF THREE SECTORS --PUBLIC, WORKER SELF-MANAGED (AUTOGESTIONARIO), AND PRIVATE; EMPHASIS ON JOB-CREATING PROGRAMS TO FIGHT UNEMPLOYMENT; EXPANSION OF SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS; BROAD FISCAL REFORMS; REDUCTION OF WORK WEEK TO 40 HOURS AND RETIREMENT AGE TO 60.

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PAGE 01 MADRID 09341 02 OF 02 101959Z

47

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 MADRID 9341

4. THE FINAL DAY'S PROCEEDINGS. THE DECEMBER 8 CLOSING SESSION TOOK ON A MORE RADICAL HUE THAN HAD THE EARLIER PROCEEDINGS, APPARENTLY AS THE RESULT OF A DECISION ON THE PART OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO REAFFIRM ITS MARXIST BONA FIDES AND THE PERCEIVED IMPERATIVE OF GIVING PARTY RADICALS THEIR DAY AFTER BRANDT AND THE OTHER MAJOR EUROPEAN SOCIALIST DIGNITARIES HAD RETURNED HOME. CHILEAN SOCIALIST CARLOS ALTAMIRANO AND A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CUBAN COMMUNIST PARTY BELABORED US IMPERIALISM AND THE BOURGEOISIE GENERALLY, A DELEGATE FROM THE FRENTE POLISARIO PROVIDED A LONG HISTORY OF THE "STRUGGLE OF THE SAHARAN PEOPLE, "A CONGRATULATORY LETTER WAS READ FROM PCE SEC GEN CARRILLO, AND FELIPE GONZALEZ DELIVERED A CLOSING SPEECH MARKEDLY TOUGHER IN TONE THAN THE ADDRESS HE

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PAGE 02 MADRID 09341 02 OF 02 101959Z

HAD GIVEN TO KICK OFF THE CONGRESS ON DECEMBER 5, ALTHOUGH NOT DIFFERING IN SUBSTANCE. THE SESSION CLOSED WITH A SPONTANEOUS PRO-REPUBLICAN DEMONSTRATION -- INITIATED BY SPECTATORS IN THE REAR, NOT THE DELEGATES -- PUNCTUATED BY THE APPEARANCE OF A REPUBLICAN FLAG AND CHANTS OF "ESPANA MANANA SERA REPUBLICANA." THE DEMONSTRATION CLEARLY CAUGHT THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE BY SURPRISE. ONLY A FEW COMMITTEE MEMBERS, NOT INCLUDING GONZALEZ, JOINED THE CHANTS, AND THEY DID SO RELUCTANTLY AND WITHOUT ENTHUSIASM.

5. RUBIAL PRESIDENT, GONZALEZ SEC GEN. SEVENTY-YEAR-OLD RAMON RUBIAL, A WIDELY RESPECTED BASQUE FORMER METALWORKER WHO IS PARTICULARLY CLOSE TO ENRIQUE MUGICA, WAS CHOSEN TO FILL THE NEWLY CREATED AND LARGELY HONORIFIC POSITION OF PRESIDENT. (WE TAKE THIS AS, AMONG OTHER THINGS, A SIGNAL TO TIERNO GALVAN AND HIS PSP NOT TO EXPECT ANY CONCESSIONS IN ANY UNIFICATION TALKS.) GONZALEZ, AS WIDELY ANTICIPATED, WAS REELECTED, APPARENTLY WITHOUT OPPOSITION. VOTING FOR THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TOOK PLACE BEHIND CLOSED DOORS AND ONLY THE WINNERS, WITH NO VOTE TOTALS, WERE ANNOUNCED, EVOKING SHARP QUESTIONS FROM SOME OF THE MADRID PRESS ABOUT THE NECESSITY FOR SUCH SECRECY.

6. COMMITTEE EXPANDED TO 19. ALTHOUGH THERE HAD BEEN REMOVALS OF POSSIBLE CHANGES IN ALMOST EVERY PORTFOLIO, IN FACT THE SHIFTS WERE MINOR, WITH 8 OF THE OTHER 10 INCUMBENT MEMBERS STAYING ON AN ALL MAJOR FIGURES -- MUGICA, GUERRA, GOMEZ LLORENTE, REDONDO, YANEZ -- REMAINING. REDONDO, HOWEVER, LEFT HIS POST AS SECRETARY FOR ORGANIZATION TO BECOME A MEMBER WITHOUT SPECIFIC RESPONSIBILITIES ("VOCAL"), A MOVE APPARENTLY DESIGNED TO REDUCE SOMEWHAT THE FORMAL LINKAGE BETWEEN THE PSOE AND ITS "FRATERNAL" UNION, REDONDO'S UGT. THE EXPANDED COMMITTEE, WHICH BINGS IN NEW MEMBERS FROM VALENCIA, CATALONIA, ALICANTE, MALAGA, MADRID AND THE CANARIES (BUT NO FORMER MEMBERS OF THE "HISTORICAL" FACTION), CLEARLY IMPROVES THE LEADERSHIP'S GEOGRAPHICAL BALANCE, WHILE MOVING TO DEAL WITH THE COMMITTEE'S GROWING WORKLOAD. THE POLITICAL TEXTURE OF THE NEW COMMITTEE IS NOT YET CLEAR, BECAUSE MOST OF THE NEW MEMBERS ARE UNKNOWN, BUT WE ANTICIPATE THAT IF GEN-

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PAGE 03 MADRID 09341 02 OF 02 101959Z

ERALLY WILL REFLECT THE EXISTING BALANCE BETWEEN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS (MUGICA AND NEW MEMBERS MIGULE BOYER), "CENTRISTS" (GONZALEZ, YANEZ), AND "RADICALS" (GUERRA, GOMEZ LLORENTE).

7. COMMENT: THE PSOE CONGRESS MUST BE COUNTED AS ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL EVENTS IN SPAIN SINCE THE DEATH OF FRANCO. THE GOVT, BY AUTHORIZING THIS ASSEMBLAGE OF THE "OTHER SPAIN" OF CIVIL WAR LOSERS, PROVIDED ANOTHER IMPORTANT PROOF OF ITS DEMOCRATIC INTENTIONS. OUR ANALYSIS OF WHAT THE CONGRESS MEANS FOR THE PSOE'S FUTURE ROLE AND POSITION WILL BE SUBMITTED AS SOON AS WE HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO TALK WITH PARTY LEADERS AND TO REVIEW THE FINAL PLATFORM DOCUMENT. STABLER

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